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Research article

**The transformation of the institute of bais in the conditions of modernization processes of the 19th – early 20th centuries**

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**Abstract.** The article is devoted to the study of the social and institutional history of the prosperous estate of a nomadic society – the Kazakh bais. The main content of the topic of this study is the history of the bais estate as a social community – its condition, social behavior, place and role in the system of social relations, sources of material well-being, social alliances and conflicts, social preconditions and consequences of political, cultural and economic transformations. Integration of the Kazakh economy into the system of the all-Russian economy in the second half of the 19th century caused changes in the social stratification of the traditional nomadic society. The category of wealthy individuals – bais had begun to play an increasing role in its structure. The article is aimed at studying the traditional authority – bais, its transformation in the conditions of change of socio-economic and political life in the Kazakh territory under the influence of strengthening of colonial policy and penetration of elements of the market economy in the 19th – early 20th centuries. The methodological basis of the article is the theory of modernization and frontier modernization. Being part of the Russian Empire, Kazakhstan in the 19th – early 20th centuries actually was a frontier zone. As a result of the study, it was revealed that bais, actively involved in the sphere of commodity-money relations, used intensive forms of livestock breeding. By increasing the number of livestock, bais formed initial capital, which contributed to the development of entrepreneurship and trade. This, in turn, intensified charitable activities.

**Keywords:** bais; social institute of bais; traditional authority; modernization; capitalist economy; social structure; Kazakh society.

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## **Introduction**

The integration of the Kazakh economy into the system of the all-Russian economy in the second half of the 19th century caused changes in the social stratification of the traditional nomadic society. The category of wealthy individuals – *bais*, was beginning to play an increasingly important role in its structure. The history of *bais* as an independent category remains poorly studied in domestic and foreign historiography. The study of the institute of *bais* takes place in the context of the modernization of the traditional economy of Kazakh society and the gradual transition to a market capitalist economy. In this study, the institute of *bais* will be considered in socio-historical dynamics, described as part of a complex structure in all its diversity at the macro and micro levels.

The purpose of the article is to study the *bais* institute, its transformation in the context of changes in socio-economic and political life in the Kazakh region under the influence of the strengthening of colonial policy and the penetration of elements of the market economy in the 19th – early 20th centuries.

## **Discussion**

The social structure of Kazakh society during the imperial period remains one of the most complex and unexplored themes. At the same time, it must be recognized that certain aspects of the topic are more or less described, ranging from the division of society into two large groups – *ak-suyek*, *kara-suyek*, to the social groups that have emerged under the influence of the developing capitalist relations of the province (e.g., *jataks*).

The pre-revolutionary Russian authors L. Meyer, A. K. Geins, A. I. Dobrosmyslov, I. Kraft have addressed the social structure of Kazakh society, as well as the traditional economy and way of life in their work. For example, A. Haruzin writes about cattle breeding among rich and wealthy Kazakhs (Haruzin, 1889: 68). Definitely, a number of characteristics of the social structure of Kazakh society can be found in the studies of the liberal-democratic intelligentsia. In particular, in the writings of A. Bukeykhanov and others (Bukeykhanov, 2007: 303).

Patriarchs of the Soviet historiography S. Asfendiyarov, E. Bekmakhanov, B. Suleymenov in their studies described the transformations in the social and political structure of traditional Kazakh society that took place as a result of the reforms of the 19th – early 20th centuries. Studying the social relations of this period, the authors also address the problem of integration of the Kazakh elite into the higher imperial strata. This point has become particularly relevant by the end of the 19th century, since the term "*bai*" was increasingly used to refer to a person who engaged in usurious transactions, lending money at interest. It definitely confirms the level of distribution of commodity and monetary relations in the steppe and, in this regard, the emergence of new social roles and groups, since the *bais* came from both sultans and ancestral nobility.

The beginning of the era of independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan was marked by a number of publications, which raised one of the research issues of the social structure of Kazakhstan society. The multi-volume publication on the history of Kazakhstan, as well as

the works of M.K. Kozybayev became in many ways decisive in terms of studying the topics of interest to us (Kozybayev, 2006: 272). A special place in these series is occupied by the works of N.E. Masanov, Zh.B. Abylkhozhin, Zh. O. Artykbayev and others.

A major breakthrough in the study of the category of bais was the thesis and subsequent scientific publications of the cliometrist historian S. A. Zhakisheva, who was one of the first to use mathematical research methods to study the problems of confiscation of bais in Kazakhstan in the late 1920s. Of great interest is the reasoned approach to the choice of a correct mathematical and statistical method to determine the dynamics of the processes of stratification of the Kazakh village in the pre-kolkhoz period, chosen by the Kazakh scientist Zh. B. Abylkhozhin.

Foreign historiography was marked by the presence of a number of special works devoted to the study of the traditional economy of Kazakhs and transformational processes of social structure, which took place in the 19th and 20th centuries. M. Olcott believes that irreversible changes in the economy of Kazakhstan occurred during the colonial period (Olcott, 1987: 388). P. Rottier also believes that the policy of the Russian Empire has led to the transformation of the nomadic way of life of the Kazakhs (Rottier, 2003:67).

However, it should be noted that the coverage of the topic through the transformation of economic activity of Kazakh bais in the designated period is practically absent in the domestic science.

### **Methodology, methods and materials**

During the 1960s and 70s, Western scholars developed a theory of modernization, which is now widely used in the domestic social sciences.

Modernization can be understood as a set of innovative measures characterized by the transition from traditional society to modern society (Experience of Russian modernization, 2011: 23-24). In this regard, frontier modernization is becoming especially relevant. In its context, scientists study the processes of modernization in the territories of the colonial outskirts of the Russian Empire, consider the directions of integration of these regions into the common imperial space (Poberezhnikov, 2011: 191). Kazakhstan in the 19th – early 20th centuries, being part of the Russian Empire, was actually a frontier zone. Firstly, it was under the jurisdiction of the administrative authorities of those regions that are now considered to be borderline (Ural, Western Siberia). Secondly, Kazakhs in the 19th century were very actively integrated into the common imperial space. Only a few researchers pay attention to the modernization processes in the Kazakh society in the imperial period (Tebayev, 2010: 246).

One of them is the prominent Russian scientist Aleksey Yuryevich Bykov, who in 2003 published a monograph on the origins of modernization of Kazakhstan and currently continues to work on this topic (Bykov, 2003: 267). In 2023, he published a two-volume book “Russian Policy in the Steppe Regions and the Transformation of Kazakh Society (1731-1917)”.

S. I. Kovalskaya’s monograph, dedicated to the analysis of current problems in the history of modernization of Kazakhstan as reflected in English-language historiography, allows us to trace the views of Western authors on the processes occurring in Kazakhstan both in the imperial and Soviet periods (Kovalskaya, 2007: 336).

From a methodological point of view, the modernization theory is interdisciplinary. Researchers using the modernization approach study the political and legal aspects of colonization, tax legislation, social categories such as clergy, officialdom, etc. (Pochekaev, 2013: 174). However, to such a social institution as *bais*, in the modernization processes hardly paid attention. This is understandable, since the *bais* are a poorly studied social group both in the Modern period and in the Soviet period. Accordingly, in this article the authors try to consider the transformational changes in the context of frontier modernization that took place in the environment of *bais*, as well as the social functions of traditional authority in Kazakhstan, which have not yet been the subject of research as a social category, spreading and introducing innovations.

However, the process of these transformations in Kazakhstan during the period under review should not be considered literally, that is to say, modernization in the territory of Kazakhstan as a transition from an agricultural society to an industrial one. The Kazakhs were not an "agrarian society", and the imperial and then Soviet government did not intend to turn them into an "industrial" (until the 1930's). It is therefore more appropriate to consider the transformation of social institutions in Kazakhstan as an element of modernization in a broader sense. It is important to show that social institutions have been increasingly rationalized under the influence of the growth of commodity and monetary relations and the integration of the Kazakh steppe into the all-Russian economic market. In such a socio-political atmosphere, new bright personalities appeared, the Kazakh national identity was born, new social groups and new social functions emerged. In this process of modernization, *bais* along with the national intelligentsia, has played an important role.

The study of the topic was carried out with the help of traditional for historical science methods of historiographical analysis, comparative analysis and systematic approach. We also applied methods of statistical analysis. Statistical sources were widely used in the scientific article: materials of the First General Population Census of the Russian Empire in 1897, "Reference and address calendars" of the late 19 - early 20 centuries. Statistical calculations were supplemented and corrected by a substantive analysis of the situation using the historical-typological method. Reference and statistical publications, such as "Reviews", "Memorial books", compiled by regional statistical committees, contain information about the class characteristics of the population, the number of livestock of Kazakh *bais*, the number of enterprises and trade turnover in the Kazakh steppe.

## **Results**

**On the issue of terminology of Kazakh *bais*.** Before considering the transformational processes of the institution of *bais*, it is necessary to disclose the etymology, the essence of the term "bai". In the well-known book devoted to the traditional structure of Kazakh society, Zh. B. Abylkhodzhin was one of the first to define the term "bai". Bai – at the level of folk etymology – a rich, wealthy human. He further submits that *bai* is an everyday concept that has traditionally been extrapolated to any influential owner of large numbers of livestock and movable property. In fact, "bai" included subjects who acted as a symbol of power and high authority, not wealth (Abylkhodzhin, 1991: 6-17).

S.A. Zhakisheva in her research "Bais – "semi-feudals" in Kazakhstan at the turn of the 20th and 30th years of the XX century" addressed a whole chapter to such a complex issue. The monograph itself describes the period associated with the confiscation of peasant farms in 1928-1929 in Kazakhstan. The monograph defines this category as follows: "Within the community corporation, in the years mentioned above, bais were individuals whose ownership of cattle ranged from 50 to 400 units. It was depended on how many pastoralists cooperated in a minimal community based on the principle of complementarity, and which of their owners had a large herd compared to other tribesmen within the community" (Zhakisheva, 2022: 166-167).

In fact, the bais were entrenched at three major levels of multi-level economy. That is, the bais occupied well-defined socio-economic and socio-cultural niches. Thus, within the territorial and productive community, there was a segment of peasant farms, which were part of the community and operated within the framework of the community cooperation. At the same time, some of them, possessing huge herds, no longer needed social cooperation, went beyond it and became carriers of qualitatively different social organization of production. It is legitimate to assign this category of pastoral holdings to the system of private ownership.

However, it should be emphasized that the allocation of bais' farms to the three main levels is conventionally accepted, since the actual practice of social and economic relations in the Kazakh village gave many different transition and symbiotic sub-levels from the community, non-communicable, with known access to private property, to minimally private capitalist organizations.

As a result of the study of usually legal aspects of property relations, the well-known domestic historian N.E. Masanov was convinced of the dominant role of livestock ownership in the system of industrial relations of nomadic society. In his work «Nomadic civilization of Kazakhs» he gives several arguments in favor of this situation. N. Masanov uses both historiographical and source descriptions as evidence.

S.E. Tolybekov rightly believes, "...that nomadic peoples... property inequality and class stratification... they could arise only on the basis of private ownership of herds..." V. P. Ilushechkin writes in connection with this, that "in nomadic cattle farms... cattle are considered the main and dominant wealth, the most important means of production... Private, including large-scale private ownership of livestock exists in all nomadic class societies, and this serves as the basis for the exploitation of private property" (Masanov, 1995: 178).

M.A. Khazanov in his famous work "Nomads and the outside world" states the following: "Property differences, not always permanent, can certainly contribute to social advancement, to reaching a higher level in the social hierarchy, but they themselves are rarely able to turn it into a stable and hereditary social stratification". Indeed, if we seek nomadic societies from the inside, then we can identify two potential sources of social differentiation: private ownership of livestock and leadership positions in public organizations. Private ownership of cattle, differences in the family cycle and the implicit volatility of nomadic herding inevitably led to some income inequality (Khazanov, 2002: 261).

In this regard, V.F. Shahmatov mentioned that the fragmented nature of ownership of key resources and the vertical structure of the communities themselves facilitate the transition from one to the other and the formation of new communities. It is no coincidence that most of

these transitions occur within higher taxonomic communities. For example, there were cases in Kazakh societies in the 19 century, when members of the same subdivision, sharing (or owning) a certain pasture territory, formed several nomadic communities, but relatively easily passed from one to the other (Shahmatov, 1964: 66).

It should be noted that almost all sources unanimously indicate that the basic well-being of the Kazakh people depends solely on the number of livestock. This divides their society into rich, mediocre and poor.

Statistical analysis shows that the nomadic mode of production was characterized by the concentration of livestock in small classes of wealthy pastoralists. In particular, the group of farms with more than 50 horses accounted for 3.3% of all farms in Atbasar district and owned 20.4% of the total livestock, in Kostanay – 3.7% and 32.6%, in Ust-Kamenogorsk – 1.1% and 15.5%, in Semipalatinsk – 1.8% and 23.0%, in Karkaraly – 2.0% and 19.7%, in Akmola region – 3.9% and 27.6%, in Pavlodar – 3.6% and 29.1%, in Petropavlovsk – 1.6% and 16.8%, in Aktobe – 1.2% and 11.7% respectively (Masanov, 1995: 178).

According to the Review of the Turgay region for 1894 out of about half a million horses, 4,707 heads or 1% belonged to settled residents, 460,082 heads or 99% to Kazakhs. Of the latter, 108,814 or 23.8% belonged to house owners with herds of 50 heads or more. The number of such horse breeders on 1 January 1895 increased by 144 or 11.9%, and the number of horses owned by them – by 4,468 heads or by 4% (Review of the Turgay region, 1894:10).

The number of horses belonged to horse breeders and counties in the region were as follows:

Table 1

**Number of horses by counties of Turgay region**

The number of herds belonged to horse breeders	Aktobe	Kostanay	Turgay	Irgiz	Total in the region
In 50 heads	77	135	68	28	308
50 to 100 heads	98	288	134	68	588
100 – 200	27	87	75	10	199
200 – 300	14	30	12	3	59
300 – 400	1	31	2	-	34
400 – 500	1	10	1	1	13
500 – 600	-	2	-	-	2
600 – 700	-	1	1	-	2
In 1000 heads	-	-	1	-	1
1300	-	1	-	-	1
1550	-	-	1	-	1
Total	218	585	295	110	1208

Source: Review of the Turgay Region in 1894. Orenburg, 1895. – P. 10

Steppe horse-breeding of the Turgay region has made significant progress. In 1882, the larger owners of horse herds in the area numbered 880 people, and the number of horses they owned 85,149 heads. Consequently, the number of owners increased by 328 or 27.1% over the period of time and the number of horses owned by them by 24,665 heads or 22.4% (Turgay Region Review, 1894:10).

Thus, an extremely small group of pastoralists with more than 50 horses, accounting for only 0.9 – 4.6% of all pastoralists on farms, concentrated between 11.7% and 32.6% of the total herd. These figures are even more impressive for certain types of livestock, especially horses and camels. In particular, on some farms, up to 40% of the horses were owned by this group of wealthy cattle owners. In this regard, it is entitled to record the reality of the processes of concentration of livestock in individual farms, usually connected with the community only within the associative group (Masanov, 1995: 179).

Reports from sources about the Kazakh economy are also very interesting. For example, J. P. Falk notes that rich Kazakhs have at their disposal 5,000 and even 10,000 horses. Such rich people cannot even know the exact number of their herds (Past of Kazakhstan in sources and materials, 1935: 182). In turn, another Russian researcher I.G. Georgi writes that the simplest cattleman rarely has less than 50 or 30 horses, 100 sheep, several camels and 20 to 50 goats. Middle Zhuz Kazakhs also have such people, whose herds contain up to 10,000 horses, up to 300 camels, about 20,000 sheep and more than 1,000 goats. In the Younger Zhuz there are people with 5,000 horses and the corresponding number of other livestock (Georgi 1799: 126). V. V. Radlov says that they meet, though not often, rich people with 80-100 herds, who had 15 to 50 horses (Radlov, 1989: 275, 280). In this case, it is clear that the socio-economic development of the nomadic society was characterized, in its intrinsic form, by large-scale processes of concentration of livestock on the farms of a small group of wealthy pastoralists.

However, the processes of livestock accumulation in a nomadic environment were severely limited by a complex of environmental factors that limited and even hindered the concentration of cattle in large individual farms. As a result of the processes of livestock accumulation, which arose sporadically and spontaneously, were eventually completely objectively interrupted through the natural and socially segmenting functions of the regularity of the dispersed state. For example, the processes of livestock concentration were interrupted by abnormal natural phenomena that caused jute (Radlov, 1989: 44-45). But most often through social phenomena, for example, the division of property after the death of a bai between a fairly large number of relatives, the payment of a kalym, the allocation of property to married sons, dowry to daughters, the arrangement of numerous rich feasts on the occasion of the birth of children, their initiations, weddings, funerals, commemorations, a system of countless gifts, mandatory assistance to relatives, the laws of hospitality, the return of cattle to saunas, large fines for various kinds of offenses, barymta, a lot of mutual obligations, etc. As a result, there was a permanent "dispersion" of livestock ownership relations, an interruption of accumulation processes and a massive redistribution of movable property across all sectors of the social structure of society.

For example, due to the threat of jute, there was an urgent need to drive a herd of horses over icy or deep snow cover, which would allow other types of livestock to forage. In other words, the provision of most labor operations was possible only under the condition of close integration

with the farms of wealthy cattle owners. Among the numerous channels of this integration into a single complex of the social division of labor in a nomadic society, it is necessary to highlight such as assistance in seasonal movements, grazing, production of cultural objects, construction of outbuildings, exchange of producers of breeding cattle, renting livestock in saunas and many others. The livelihood and functioning of the poorest farms were possible only if they were closely integrated with the farms of wealthy livestock owners. Thus, the cattle of the poor members of the community were united around the core of the herd belonging to the rich owner of the cattle.

**The transformation of bais' farms.** A characteristic phenomenon in the cattle farms of the Kazakh population in the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries was the transition to intensive of livestock breeding, to the use of more rational methods of farming.

The intensification of cattle breeding means more careful selection and care of cattle, the use of hay. The main factor that determined the evolution of the nomadic Kazakh economy was the reduction of pasture lands in favor of expanding the acreage of both the Kazakh and Russian populations.

In conditions of reduction of their lands, the Kazakhs were forced to apply new forms of cattle breeding, including methods of improving the breed of horses and cattle, the number of which increased significantly in the late 19th – early 20th centuries.

To improve the Kazakh horse, rich cattle breeders at the end of the XIX century began to use Turkmen, Khiva, Bashkir and Russian factory horse breeds. For example, in the herds of famous cattle breeders of the Turgay region Berkimbaev, Turumov, Kinzhebaev, Sandybekov, Karpykov, Yaraspayev, sultan Seidalin there were stallions from the Orenburg horse breeding farm (Commemorative book of the Turgay region, 1899: 18).

In the 20s of the 20th century, the activities of individual cattle breeders received certain results. In the report of the livestock detachment of the expedition of the Academy of Sciences in Karkaraly county (1927-1928), the purpose of which was to assess the livestock resources of Kazakhstan and develop their breeding, it was noted that some farms have producers of improved breed, they get great attention and better care. Such cattle owners as the Myngarbayev and Cholakayev brothers had about three thousand heads. To improve the breed, they acquired stallions of trotter type (Tuleuova, 2012: 156). In general, the expedition noted high opportunities in the development of cultural cattle breeding in Kazakhstan.

One of the innovations in the Kazakh steppe was the harvesting of hay stocks, which is considered as a form of more intensive exploitation of existing lands, accompanying cattle breeding and agriculture. Their main concerns are to prepare a certain amount of fodder for livestock for the winter, in case of ice. In some volosts there were public hay stocks to provide livestock from lack of feed (Address calendar and reference book of Turgay region, 1909: 108).

Thus, the main reasons for the development of haymaking were jute, which forced yesterday's nomads to think about the vulnerability of cattle breeding based on previous principles and turn to the development of hay stocks. Therefore, the spread of machine haymaking, especially in the north of the Steppe region, becomes a characteristic and important phenomenon in the evolution of the economy of the settled Kazakhs. The first mowers appeared here in the late 90s of the 19 century (Kaufman, 1908: 33).



Over the years, the popularity of mowers among the Kazakh population has increased significantly. As V. A. Tresvyatsky notes, "in recent years, Kazakhs have increasingly implemented machine harvesting of bread and hay. During the repeated statistical survey of the Akmola region conducted in 1907-1908, a total of 6,116 Kazakhs registered only their own mowers" (Tresvyatsky, 1917: 71).

A characteristic phenomenon of the early 19th century is the spread of the concept of private property among the Kazakh population, including haymaking. Kazakhs began to realize the advantages of hay meadows in the intensification of their cattle breeding, they tried to secure good places in private ownership, although in the recent past rich hayfields were used by the whole community. So, in the Atbasar district, Agybai Aichuvakov used haymaking plots in the Aral-Tube tract, Nuperbai Janazarov, along with his brother Koterbai Janazarov, had a special winter quarter on the Sarysu River in the Ait-bulat-Ak-chiy tract, where haymaking plots were located (Tuleuova, 2012: 162-163).

Entrepreneurial trends were most clearly manifested in the bais' area. In the second half of the 19 – beginning of the century, hired labor was used in bais' farms, commodity cattle breeding and agriculture developed, methods of cattle breeding and grain cultivation were improved. The bais invested part of their capital in trade, land lease and factory enterprises.

Petitions from representatives of Kazakh society can be found in the archives, which indicate their desire to change the old economic order. Among the bais' class there were many who were attracted not only by the quantitative indicators of their herds, but also by the qualitative characteristics of livestock. The report of the Akmola regional inspector (1910) noted "some of the Kazakh rich are full of aspirations to have more productive cattle". Thus, Kazakh of the Tersakan volost of the Atbasar district, Meiram Janaydarov, founded a horse ranch back in 1870. In 1893, he submitted a petition to the military governor of the Akmola region, in which he, "wishing to use stallions of the best quality, humbly requests to provide two of the best stallions to choose from the Kostanay State horse farm". The request was granted. In 1896, M. Dzhanaydarov was awarded a gold medal for preserving the basic qualities of the local horse breed (Tuleuova, 2012: 166). The example of M. Janaidarov is very indicative and testifies to the purposeful development of the local horse breeding industry in Kazakhstan in the late 19th – early 20th centuries with a focus on world standards.

Many researchers of Modern times have noted the changes in the gradual development of arable farming that took place in the Kazakh steppe. The following evidence can be found in the works of A. Haruzin, the researcher of Bukey Horde: "M. Mikhailov (1867) said that in the trans-Ural steppes, not only the poor are engaged in agriculture, since they used to have few livestock, but that, on the contrary, the desire to cultivate fields and vegetable gardens is also noticed among rich Kazakhs. Since the 60s, which include what has just been said from the words of Mikhailov, much has changed even more in this direction. For example, N. Zeland (1885), who describes mainly the Semirechensk region, makes arable farming dependent on the soil and says that although the main occupation of the Kazakhs is cattle breeding, but recently agriculture has begun to compete with it. According to Zeland, Kazakhs are now engaged in agriculture, not all, but most of them are engaged in. Gardening with artificial irrigation is a useful activity in the Semirechensk region" (Kharuzin, 1889: 68).

The climatic and soil conditions of the Turgay region provided a full opportunity to engage in agriculture. But in the southern counties, Irgiz and Turgay, it was possible to engage in farming only with artificial irrigation of fields, for which the Kazakhs used water wheel and arranged irrigation ditches. Despite such difficulties, disastrous winter of 1879-1880 for Kazakh cattle breeding, agriculture developed more and more in both the northern and southern counties of the region. (Review of the Turgay region, 1884: 2).

Turgay region was divided into 35 volosts, and Kazakhs were engaged in land cultivation in 29 volosts of them (Review of the Turgay region, 1881: 4). In Karabutak, 8 large traders bought millet, wheat and oats from the Kazakhs in autumn. In total, up to 20 thousand pounds of bread were bought from the Kazakhs per year, including 16 thousand millets, up to 2 thousand wheat and the same amount of oats. (Memorial book of the Turgay region, 1899: 132-133).

In the early 80s of the 19th century, the lack of snow in winter and the lack of rain had an adverse effect on the growth of grain in Turgay county. But on the other hand, in three volosts of this county, thanks to artificial irrigation of fields through water wheels and ditches, the harvest was very good. With regard to the implementation of artificial irrigation, according to the testimony of the district chief, the activities of the volost administrator of the Kara- Turgay region, Baymurat Turkebayev, are issued (Review of the Turgay region, 1884: 1).

In Nikolaevsk district, rich Kazakhs rented reaping machines and threshing machines for the harvest (Review of the Turgay region, 1888: 2). This fact indicates that they were engaged in farming on a fairly extensive scale. Indirect reasons that delay the development of arable farming among nomads include the need for Kazakhs to resort to borrowing seeds for sowing from local kulaks, often under extremely difficult conditions for the planters, sometimes turning the work of Kazakh farmers into a thankless waste of time, effort and money. To eliminate such undesirable phenomena, grain stores were set up in the northern regions and special capitals were formed from which Kazakhs could receive grain for sowing or loans for the purchase of seeds. (Review of the Turgay region, 1891: 1).

In 1894, 10,8566 dessiatines were plowed and sown by Kazakhs, townspeople and Russian settlers of the Turgay region, the total area of arable land increased by 1.4%. This sown area was divided as follows: 77,358 dessiatines, or 71.8%, were under the arable land of the Kazakhs, and 31,208 dessiatines, or 28.2%, were under the arable land of the Russian and generally settled population. The Kazakhs of the Turgay region had a higher harvest due to the fact that they used the best lands, and to a greater extent due to the fact that the Kazakhs, unlike the Russian population, sow millet the most – which is the most productive bread (Turgay region Review, 1895: 2).

There were also people among Kazakh cattle breeders who were engaged in growing bread not only for their own consumption, but also for sale in the markets of the region. Yamanchalov Ismail can be referred to as one of such grain growers in Kustanay uyezd. His economic activity began with buying cattle from local Kazakhs. This led to the accumulation of initial capital and turned him into a large cattle breeder. At the beginning of the 20th century Ismail had about 1000 horses and cows and almost as many sheep. Due to mass resettlement of peasants from the central regions of Russia and reduction of pasture lands, many bais reformatted their economic activities. I. Yamanchalov also adopted a new direction and started farming, buying agricultural

equipment (threshing machines, windbreakers, mowers, etc.). By 1915-1916, he had cultivated lands up to 1,000 dessiatines.

In addition to domestic and foreign trade in bread, Kazakh farmers participated in the issuance of loans for grain growers. So, on November 30, 1905, a county congress of peasant chiefs was held in Kostanay, which considered the issue of setting up a credit institution for issuing crop loans to the Kazakh and Russian population. It was attended by officials of the Resettlement Administration in the Turgay region, forestry, as well as the Kostanay merchants V. M. Yaushev, N. A. Voronov, F. P. Kiyatkin, P. P. Stepanov. Among them was also bai, the Arakaragai parish governor M. Klychbayev (Nurseitov, 2013).

The presence of large cattle owners indicates that Kazakh society, in fact, had the initial capital for the development of various forms of entrepreneurship. All the rich Kazakh cattle owners gradually became traders. Thus, according to the Kuznetsov expedition, 65-70% of major bais, who had 500-600 heads of cattle, camels and horses, were simultaneously engaged in large-scale cattle trade (Mamytova, 2004: 9).

The initial capital created on the basis of commodity cattle breeding allowed Kazakh bais to participate in financial transactions. In the history of industrial development of Kazakhstan, there were facts when the management of factories and mines in times of crisis resorted to the help of Kazakh farmers who own a huge number of cattle and a lot of cash. In the memoirs of E. Nelson Fell, an interesting case is given about a financial transaction that was concluded between Adambai bai and the administration of mines in the Steppe Region, for the allocation of a loan in the amount of 20,000 rubles, subject to a refund of 22,000 rubles per month. The reason for this was the dissatisfaction of the workers of a number of mines in 1906 due to salary delays caused by the inability to travel to Akmolinsk for money (Fell, 2000: 109-112).

The trade movement of caravans and transport going to Russia from the Turkestan region and from the Central Asian khanates and back was carried out through the Kazakh steppe. Transportation was carried out by local Kazakhs, who received significant earnings for providing camels to caravans (Review of the Turgay region, 1885: 7).

The haulage industry was very significant before the Orenburg-Tashkent railway, and then existed mainly along the Troitsk-Kostanay-Turgay and Chelkar-Irgiz-Turgay tracts. The freight charge ranged from 20 to 60 kopecks per pud at a distance of Troitsk-Turgay and Turgay-Chelkar (Reference book and address calendar of the Turgay region, 1911: 202).

The role of the Kazakh population in this important type of trading system has also changed over time. If earlier Russian peasants and the Cossack population were engaged in the transportation of merchant baggage, then over time the Kazakhs began to occupy a leading place in trade, who set flexible prices and were more responsible for the delivery of goods than the first ones (Krasovsky, 1868: 414). A similar thought can be found in the memoirs of the English miner Nelson Fell, who notes the high degree of responsibility of Kazakh cabmen. "Of the hundreds of thousands of blanks that we sent to Petropavlovsk, we lost only two, and the carriers paid for these blanks in full. This loss was 0.002%. It is unlikely that any of our Western transport systems is capable of showing such a record" (Fell, 2000: 125). As we can see, the foreign industrialist gave more than a high assessment of the work of the Kazakh logistics.

Trade in the Kazakh steppe was fairground, permanent and barter. The fair trade was very lively due to the nomadic population and its accumulation in certain points at certain times of the

year. The population sold products of cattle breeding and agriculture and bought manufactured, grocery and leather goods. Constant trade was concentrated in cities and larger villages. Barter was practiced by small traders and clerks of large trading firms traveling across the steppe with goods and exchanging them for cattle products (Reference book and address calendar of the Turgay region, 1911: 203).

However, the fair exchange trade fell from year to year. Kazakh bais and traders themselves were reluctant and only resorted to barter if necessary. Only manufactured goods were exchanged for cattle in Kostanay, while other goods such as tea, sugar, iron and dishes were purchased for money. The Kazakhs were quite thoroughly afraid that they would be deceived in exchange, so in order to be able to purchase everything they needed in their everyday life, they tried to sell cattle for money. Merchants were also reluctant to exchange goods for cattle, as there is a lot of expensive fair time to exchange. Kazakhs, convinced in deception of traders, usually asked an incongruously high price for cattle, and offered an extremely low price for the offered goods. Negotiations sometimes lasted for several days until they came to some kind of agreement. The following persons conducted barter at the Kostanay fairs: Abdulla Yaushev, Fashkullin, Abubakirov, Daminov, Mukhamediev and Fayzullin (Commemorative Book of the Turgay region, 1899: 77-78).

The fair became an important means of establishing trade links between the Kazakh cattle industry and the factory industry of Central Russia, was a means of attracting former nomads to the market and adapting to changing economic conditions.

The region's railroads greatly influenced the development of fair trade, which brought local markets closer to the industrial centers of Russia and Siberia. The Siberian Railway has consolidated the role of centers of trade activity of the Kazakh and migrant population, trade of Kazakh cattle breeders and Russian merchants at fairs in Kazakhstan. As a result, in the late 19th – early 20th centuries, a single channel and mechanism for transporting livestock and livestock products was formed, in which fairs allowed to mobilize surpluses from producers, and the railway to deliver them to the consumer.

The "Semipalatinsk district Trade Review for 1900" notes that "individual cattle breeders sell their cattle through exporters abroad, moreover, for cash and at a price that Kazakhs did not know before. Exporters export and ship the requested raw materials to Western Europe and America" (Commemorative Book of the Semipalatinsk region, 1900: 74). Thus, fair trade connected the most remote nomadic farms of the Kazakhs of Kazakhstan, including the Central One, with the trading centers of the Eurasian region and the markets of Europe.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, shop trade was developed in the cities of Kazakhstan. In Kostanay, the shop trade was represented by the Trinity philistine Mustafa Dautov, who was engaged exclusively in the manufacture trade. In 1899, out of 210 merchants in the city of Kostanay, there were only 2 Kazakhs who were engaged in the sale of flour and grain bread. In 1897, 16 people were engaged in meat industry in Turgay, including 6 Bukharian Jews, 6 Kazakhs, 3 Tatars and 1 Russian (Commemorative Book of the Turgay region, 1899: 127-130).

In addition to the cattle trade and the listed crafts, some Kazakhs of the Nikolaev and Turgay counties were engaged in the extraction and sale of salt. Salt was extracted from lakes Urkacha and Ebelea. Salt was extracted from these lakes to about 1.5 million pounds and all of

it diverged, except for the steppe, within the Orenburg province to the cities of Verkhneuralsk, Troitsk, Chelyabinsk and other settlements neighboring the Turgay region. (Review of the Turgay region, 1887: 6). However, already in 1887, these lakes were given to the Orsk merchant Nazarov so that he would give the Kazakhs one self-planting basin on each lake or give them two pounds of salt per house per year (Review of the Turgay region, 1888: 6).

With the development of commercial entrepreneurship, new social groups and categories appear in Kazakh society. The high marketability of livestock products in the markets of Russia and Europe ensured high profits, which accordingly attracted the attention of Kazakh farmers, on the one hand, and buyers of livestock and livestock products, the so-called "alypsatars" and "saudagers", on the other. By selling or buying cattle, hides and wool from Kazakh farmers at a bargain price, and then reselling them in the large markets of Kazakhstan and Siberia, they made significant profits, thereby accumulating initial capital.

Here is one example from the Reviews of the Turgay region. Some Kazakh dealers, without waiting for the cattle to be brought to the market square, went to meet him several miles away, where they tried to outbid the cattle by all means, scaring the owner (especially from distant areas) with all sorts of constraints, mainly veterinary examination. Having stunned and talked to such a Kazakh, these saudagers handed him a deposit, then reselling cattle more expensive to merchants visiting from Orenburg (Commemorative book of the Turgay region, 1899: 113).

Prasol from the Kazakhs bought mainly larger cattle, bulls, and in batches from 30 to 80 heads were sent for sale to Orenburg or to Berdyansk bazaar (near Orenburg). Then the cattle were bought up by cattle producers from the Iletsk protection and, as they were bought, they were driven to the Khobda River for feeding. Finally, Kazakhs and Russians bought a significant number of cattle for field work. Kazakhs-prasols also took an active part in the purchase of sheep, who sent them in small flocks, 40-100 heads, for sale in Orenburg.

The purchase and sale of cattle was carried out exclusively with the help of Kazakh brokers, permanent market regulars. Having a small working capital of 50-100 rubles, they lived exclusively by buying and selling livestock. Prasolstvo was strongly developed in the city of Irgiz. The number of people engaged in this trade reached 70 people, of whom Kazakhs – 32, Sarts – 26 and Tatars – 12. (Commemorative book of the Turgay region, 1899: 120, 129).

An important role in the development of commercial entrepreneurship was played by the government's trade policy, which was aimed at supporting Kazakh traders, since they were the main suppliers of livestock and raw materials for cattle husbandry to the Russian industry. Those wishing to engage in entrepreneurial activity, regardless of class, had to buy out a certificate for the right to trade.

Large pastoralists often traded through their proxies. They, not being the legitimate owners of the livestock products sold and bought, represented the interests of their owners or tribesmen. This practice proved to be quite effective, since trading through clerks allowed large entrepreneurs to expand the scope of their trading operations to new directions and increase profits. The trustees themselves, who lent money to their clients and engaged in usury, did not remain in debt. Often, when they got rich, they hired clerks and dealers themselves. So, in 1890, the Kazakh of the Karkaraly district of the Kyzyltau parish, U. Maybas, achieved his goal in life with honest work and noble aspiration. Driven by need to the city of Petropavlovsk, in 1869 he got a job as a clerk, regularly traveling on his employer's business even to Semirechye. In 1874,

he transferred as a clerk to another Akmola merchant, who entrusted him with goods for sale in the Steppe region. Imagine the surprise of his family when he, who had previously been in poverty, sent them 150 horses. And in 1887, to everyone's surprise, he was elected governor in the elections (Newspaper of the Steppe velayat, 1994: 153).

At the beginning of the 20th century, rich Kazakhs began to pay more attention to trade, as well as production, realizing that the era of traditional cattle husbandry was over. In the second half of the 19th century, capitalist relations intensified on the scale not only of the Kazakh steppe, but also of the whole of Russia, and the wave of production increased. These changes affected the Kazakh steppes. At that time, the number of Russian and Tatar merchants, who began to engage in trade and industry in the Kazakh steppes increased. According to the 1897 census, the number of merchants in Kazakhstan was about 40 thousand (3.6% of the total population). 1,107 people of the merchant class lived in the Akmola region alone (The first general population census of the Russian Empire, 1905: 28).

Along with Russian and Tatar merchants, there were also large merchants of Kazakh origin, the *bais*, who opened production. One of them was Baymukhambet Koshygulov and his children. Baymukhambet Koshygulov began his career with small-scale trade. Thanks to his hard work and business acumen, he becomes one of the richest merchants of the Karaotkel district. In the 1890s, two shops called "Guest Row" or "Caravanserai" appeared in Karaotkel. One of these stores was Koshygulov's store, which was called "Green Row" because the doors were painted green. There were 72 shops and 10 small retail shops in the large one-storey building.

The Koshygulovs' confectionery factory was run by a family. The sign of the two-storey building, opened in 1895, read "Koshygulov and sons". At that time, a variety of sweets, crackers, marshmallows, halva and chocolates were produced, which were popular far beyond the borders of the Russia Empire. In 1915, the factory was awarded the honorary title of "Supplier of the court of his Imperial Majesty". In addition to retail outlets and production, Baymukhambet Koshygulov was actively engaged in charitable activities. He built a stone mosque and a madrasah school in Akmolinsk (Nurakhmet, 2020).

In the context of the development of entrepreneurship, the process of forming the personal characteristics of Kazakhstani entrepreneurs was underway. Charitable and social activities of entrepreneurs aimed at supporting the well-being of not only Kazakh society, but also residents of neighboring districts, were commonplace. Yamanchalov Ismail can be attributed to such *bais* of the Kostanay region. With considerable funds, he was engaged in charity work. In particular, at his own expense, in Chubarsk volost, he built a building for the volost administration, an address office and for holding congresses of people's judges. In the autumn of 1896, an aul school built at his expense was opened. In addition, he was allocated 1,680 rubles for the maintenance of teachers at their school at the rate of 240 rubles per year. M. Klychbaev's brother Alim, along with other *bais* and merchant families, was a full member of the board of the Society for Assistance to needy students in secondary educational institutions of the Kustanay city, namely, a women's gymnasium and a real school (Nurseitov, 2013).

These facts testify to the formation of charitable activities on the part of the *bai* entrepreneurs, who directed their efforts to support their compatriots. Kazakh *bais* not only adapted to the new economic conditions, but also tried to be active participants in all social processes taking place in the region.

## **Conclusion**

Summarizing the above, we can come to the following conclusions. Bais was an independent social and economic category. In the context of new emerging capitalist relations, the institution of bais is being transformed under the influence of the crisis of the traditional economic system and its integration into the system of the all-Russian market.

Bais was an active social category that was involved in the sphere of commodity-money relations and power relations through institutions and channels (for example, fairs, official policies of local authorities, etc.).

In the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries, intensive forms were often used in the bai's economy, characterized by the use of more rational methods of livestock breeding. The intensification of cattle breeding means an increase in the number of cattle, an improvement in the breed of horses, the use of hay, etc. The main factor that determined the evolution of the nomadic Kazakh economy was the reduction of pasture lands in favor of expanding the acreage of both the Kazakh and Russian populations.

The bais, having a large number of cattle, in fact, had the initial capital for the development of various forms of entrepreneurship. All the rich Kazakh cattle owners gradually became traders and merchants. A particularly popular type of activity among the Kazakhs was the haulage trade, which brought them considerable income. Along with trade, the bais' estate tried to master industrial production.

With the development of commercial entrepreneurship, new social groups and categories appear in Kazakh society, such as saudagers, alypsatars, prasols, clerks, dealers, etc. Many of them quickly adapted to market conditions and were able to generate significant capital. And having a solid asset, the bais were actively involved in charitable and patronage activities.

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### **ХІХ-ХХ ғасырдың басындағы модернизациялық үдерістер жағдайында байлар институтының трансформациясы**

**Аңдатпа.** Мақала көшпелі қоғамның дәстүрлі элитасы – қазақ байларының әлеуметтік және институционалдық тарихын зерттеуге арналған. Зерттеу тақырыбының негізгі мазмұны – әлеуметтік қауымдастық ретіндегі байлар институтының тарихы – оның жағдайы, әлеуметтік мінез-құлқы, әлеуметтік қатынастар жүйесіндегі орны мен рөлі, материалдық әл-ауқат көздері, әлеуметтік альянстар мен қақтығыстар, саяси, мәдени және экономикалық өзгерістердің әлеуметтік алғышарттары мен салдары. ХІХ ғасырдың екінші жартысында қазақ шаруашылығының бүкілресейлік экономика жүйесіне интеграциялануы дәстүрлі көшпелі қоғамның әлеуметтік стратификациясында өзгерістер туғызды. Оның құрылымында ауқатты адамдар санаты – байлар айтарлықтай рөл атқара бастайды. Мақаланың мақсаты – байлар институтын, оның қазақ өлкесіндегі әлеуметтік-экономикалық және саяси өмір жағдайында отарлық саясаттың күшеюі мен ХІХ-ХХ ғасырдың басындағы нарықтық экономика элементтерінің енуі салдарынан өзгеруін зерттеу. Мақаланың әдіснамалық негізі – модернизация теориясы, фронтірлік модернизация. Қазақстан ХІХ-ХХ ғғ. басында Ресей империясының бір бөлігі бола отырып, іс жүзінде фронтір аймақ болды. Зерттеу нәтижелерінде бай адамдар тауар-ақша қатынастары саласына белсенді қатысып, мал өсірудің қарқынды түрлерін қолданғаны анықталды. Мал басын көбейте отырып, байлар кәсіпкерлік пен сауданың дамуына ықпал ететін бастапқы капиталды қалыптастырды. Бұл өз кезегінде қайырымдылық қызметін жандандырды.

**Түйін сөздер:** байлар; байлар институты; дәстүрлі элита; жаңғырту; капиталистік шаруашылық; әлеуметтік құрылым; қазақ қоғамы.

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### **Трансформация института байства в условиях модернизационных процессов ХІХ – начала ХХ вв.**

**Аннотация.** Статья посвящена изучению социальной и институциональной истории зажиточного сословия кочевого общества - казахского байства. Основным содержанием темы настоящего исследования является история байского сословия как социальной общности – его положение, социальное поведение, место и роль в системе социальных отношений, источники материального благосостояния, социальные альянсы и конфликты, социальные предпосылки

и последствия политических, культурных и экономических трансформаций. Интегрирование казахского хозяйства в систему всероссийской экономики во второй половине XIX века вызвало изменения в социальной стратификации традиционного кочевого общества. В его структуре начинают все более возрастающую роль играть категория зажиточных лиц – баев. Целью статьи является изучение института байства, его трансформации в условиях изменения социально-экономической и политической жизни в Казахском крае под воздействием усиления колониальной политики и проникновения элементов рыночной экономики в XIX – начале XX веков. Методологической основой статьи является теория модернизации, фронтальной модернизации. Казахстан в XIX – начале XX вв., являясь частью Российской империи и представлял собой фронтальную зону. В качестве результатов исследования было выявлено, что баи, активно вовлекаясь в сферу товарно-денежных отношений, использовали интенсивные формы разведения скота. Увеличивая поголовье скота, баи формировали начальный капитал, который способствовал развитию предпринимательства и торговли. А это, в свою очередь, активизировало благотворительную деятельность.

**Ключевые слова:** баи; институт байства; традиционная элита, модернизация; капиталистическое хозяйство; социальная структура; казахское общество.

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